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ABSTRACT

The transition from school to work has become complicated for young people by accelerated technological advancement, the increase in guidance services offered in many countries, and emerging complexities in the structure and mobility of work forces. Accordingly, this document analyzes several Unesco reports on educational and vocational guidance in various countries, and makes policy recommendations related to integrating young people into working life. These suggestions are directed toward guidance professionals and their associations, public agencies, and national and international bodies. The professional community is advised that the transition from school to work is a long-term process, so that all identifiable dimensions of employability, as a link between training and employment, need detailed attention. It is noted that the diversity of guidance services being offered to an increasingly diverse clientele requires refocusing of service delivery and preparation of professional personnel, with an increased emphasis on cultural differences. Furthermore, cooperation is needed among agencies if they are to effectively collect and disseminate occupational information in a usable form for educational and vocational guidance. This need for cooperation is thought to extend to professional associations and government agencies, as well as across academic disciplines. Suggestions are therefore made to help professionals understand and deal with the daily frustrations of their professional lives and to make more efficient use of demographic projections. Through all of the suggestions, the importance of program evaluation and systematic research into the transition process are emphasized. An abstract of the report is provided in both French and English. References are included. (Author/TE)

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Studies...

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SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY REGARDING THE INTEGRATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE INTO WORKING LIFE

by

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Division of
Educational Policy
and Planning

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ABSTRACT

The acceleration of technological advancement, the increase in guidance services offered in many countries, and the emergence of complexities in the structure and mobility of workforces have combined so as to complicate the transition from school to work for many young people. Policy which addresses these complications must be broad-based, often cutting across national boundaries. With the foregoing considerations in mind, several reports about educational and vocational guidance in various countries, which had been prepared for the Division of Educational Policy and Planning at Unesco, were analysed. On the basis of that analysis, suggestions for possible policy statements related to the integration of young people into working life are offered. The policy suggestions are organized so they may be addressed to three audiences: the professional community, combinations of professional associations and public agencies, and national and international bodies.

In addressing the professional community, two broad conceptualizations are considered as they relate to transition from school to work. It is suggested that all identifiable dimensions of employability, as a link between training and employment, receive specific and precisely detailed attention. It is also suggested that this transition needs to be treated as a process which extends over many years rather than as an isolated event. Indeed, it is a process which many people engage repeatedly over the course of a lifespan. In terms of guidance programme operations, it is noted that the diversity of services being offered to increasingly diverse clientele requires refocusing of some aspects of service delivery and preparation of professional personnel. In particular, the importance of cultural differences is addressed, especially in regard to borrowing or adapting ideas across cultures.

Some degree of co-operation is seen as necessary to address issues related to the collection and dissemination of occupational information, with special attention directed to the need to translate the data into a form which makes it readily usable in educational and vocational guidance. In a similar vein, the need for co-operation among professional associations and government agencies is underscored. It is viewed as essential to increase co-operation across academic disciplines in order to meet fully the needs of clients in transition and to enhance the competencies of the professionals who guide their progress.

On the broadest base for co-operation, suggestions are related to helping professionals to understand and deal with the daily frustrations of their professional lives and to make more efficient use of demographic projections. Through all of the suggestions, evaluation of programme effectiveness and systematic research designed to increase understanding of the transition process are emphasized.

RÉSUMÉ

L'accélération du développement technologique, l'accroissement dans de nombreux pays des services offerts par l'orientation, comme l'émergence de structures d'emploi toujours plus complexes associées à la mobilité de la main d'oeuvre, se sont combinés de telle façon que le passage de la scolarité au travail de beaucoup de jeunes en est devenu beaucoup plus compliqué. La politique conçue pour répondre à une telle complexitè doit être envisagée de façon très large, souvent même au-delà des frontières nationales. Ayant dans l'esprit ces considérations, l'auteur a analysé plusieurs études portant sur l'orientation scolaire et professionnelle dans divers pays, études qui avaient été réalisées pour la Division de la Politique et de la Planification de l'Education de l'Unesco. Sur la base de cette analyse ont été formulées des propositions pour une politique destinée à faciliter l'intégration des jeunes dans le monde du travail. La politique proposée est formulée de façon à s'adresser à trois sortes d'interlocuteurs : le corps des professionnels, le regroupement des associations professionnelles et des pouvoirs publics, les organisations nationales ou internationales.

Vis-à-vis du corps des professionnels, deux conceptions principales sont développées pour décrire le passage de la scolarité au travail. Il est proposé que tous les facteurs identifiables facilitant l'entrée au travail - comme trait d'union entre la formation et l'emploi - reçoivent la plus vive attention. Il est aussi propósé que ce passage soit considéré comme un processus s'étendant sur de nombreuses années plutôt que d'y voir un évènement ponctuel. En réalité pour de nombreuses personnes, c'est un processus qui se répètera à plusieurs reprises au cours de leur existence. En termes de programme opérationnel d'orientation, il est signalé que la diversité des services pouvant être offerts face à un clientèle toujours plus diversifée, entraine un recentrage de certaines des prestations offertes, tout comme dans la formation des personnels utilisés. Prendre garde en particulier à l'importance des différences culturelles, spécialement lorsqu'il s'agit d'emprunter ou d'adapter des idées provenant de diverses cultures.

Une certaine coopération apparaît nécessaire pour mettre en forme la collecte et la transmission des informations réunies sur les professions ; une attention spéciale doit être apportée à la présentation des données recueillies, celles-ci devant revêtir une forme directement utilisable par l'orientation scolaire et professionnelle. Dans la même perspective est soulignée la nécessaire coopération qui doit s'instaurer entre les associations professionnelles et les pouvoirs publics. Il est considéré comme essentiel d'accroître la coopération au travers des disciplines universitaires, de telle sorte que celles-ci puissent répondre aux besoins des jeunes au cours de la phase de transition, leur permettant ainsi d'utiliser au mieux la compétence des professionnels qui suivent leur cheminement.

Pour réaliser la coopération la plus large possible, des propositions sont formulées pour aider les professionnels à comprendre et maîtriser les frustrations quotidiennes qu'ils éprouvent dans leur vie professionnelle. Une utilisation plus efficace des projections démographiques est souhaitée. Parmi toutes les propositions formulées, ont été particuliérement développées celles concernant l'évaluation de l'efficacité des programmes de travail ou celles relatives aux recherches nécessaires pour parvenir à une meilleure compréhension du processus de transition.

SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY REGARDING THE INTEGRATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE INTO WORKING LIFE

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Modern technology has made the integration of young people into working life much more complicated than it once was. Before the advent of the Industrial Revolution (cf. Bingham, 1974), managing that integration was probably a relatively simple matter for most people. The work that needed to be done was generally visible, and young children had unlimited opportunities to observe the type of work that was likely to occupy most of their lives. In the course of childhood development, as they showed signs of being able to meet the criteria of readiness to participate (as they became old enough, tall enough, or strong enough), they began to execute elemental work tasks. As evidence of their competence accumulated, they were gradually assimilated into adult work activities. In the typical course of events, the meaning of their work was self-evident, and the adequacy of their performance was continually observable. In a sense, they just grew into their jobs and advanced as skill levels became apparent. With the passage of time, as their productivity began to diminish, just as "naturally," they grew out of their jobs. In most respects, the transition from one work role to the next was not very often distinguishable from the rest of the process. People appeared to just flow into the workforce when they were ready and able to perform, and then flow out of it again when aging or disability began to interfere with satisfactory performance.

Over the past two centuries, and particularly over the last 50 years, the movement of young people into working life has been made more complex by a number of forces: the diversity of occupational alternatives has increased enormously; choosing among available options often requires sophisticated decision-making skills; in many jobs, specialized preparation is needed in order to master the skills required for successful performance; much work is directly visible only to people who do similar work; tasks of production have been distributed among workers such that some of them never see a finished product; for people who perform all but the least skilled occupations, entry into any form of useful employment is delayed until they are well into the second decade of life, or later. The overarching impact of these complications for young people is that work (whether actually participating in it or simply the anticipation of doing so) is experienced as separated from the rest of life. Since the integration into working life does not flow as "naturally" as it once did, economic leaders as well as national authorities have expressed concern about it regarding both the achievement of societal goals and the maintenance of a smoothly functioning industrial enterprise.

An assortment of professional practitioners, especially educators, but most particularly those involved in educational and vocational guidance, have been equally concerned about the complexities of integrating young people into working life, but, without losing sight of the impact of their work on national and economic imperatives, their central focus has been the psychological well- being of the individuals who seek to find their way, upon leaving school, into satisfying and productive employment. This transition from school to work, and the array of structures erected to facilitate it, was the subject of several studies sponsored by Unesco in 1985. The studies were conducted by the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance, the International Round Table for the Advancement of Counseling, and the World Association for Educational Research. Reports of the studies are listed, by authors of their component parts, under the heading of "Studies Sponsored by Unesco" at the end of this paper. The task at hand is to review those studies with the

intention of identifying important points in the complexity of the process of transition which seem to warrant attention at the policy level of Unesco.

Even a superficial perusal of the studies reveals that as the transition from school to work has become complicated, so have the strategies and services designed to help individuals to cope with the process. Such complications are evident in several arenas. For one thing, compared to what would certainly have been encountered if similar reports had been available just a few decades ago, today's educational and vocational guidance programmes are considerably more extensive: a greater range of services is offered; much more sophisticated conceptualizations are employed; in general, professional personnel are better trained; services are available over greater portions of working people's lives; there seem to be more concerted efforts to co-ordinate the interventions of a variety of agencies.

An additional complication, although the authors do not often make direct reference to it, can be seen in the increasing efforts to influence guidance services from outside. There is increased oversight on the part of government agencies to monitor or regulate the quality of services. There may also be increased activity by a variety of special interest groups trying to assure that whatever benefits may accrue to them are not overlooked. In some countries, entrepreneurs may offer services that compete with or supplement those offered by educational institutions or other public agencies. Attending to, or interacting with, all of these additional interveners consumes time and energy that many professionals would prefer to spend in direct service to clients.

At the same time, several facts provide evidence that work itself has become more complicated. On one level, disquieting unemployment rates, imbalances between production needs and the relative distribution of trained workers, and the sudden introduction of technological advancements cause rapid shifts in labor force requirements. On another level, work has become increasingly international: people live in one country and work, every day or seasonally, in another; people may work in several countries over the course of a career without changing employers; the parts of a product may be manufactured separately in several countries, assembled in a different one, and offered for sale throughout the world.

Considering all of these complicating factors together makes it obvious that the generation and dissemination of policy statements relating to the management of transition from school to work needs to be initiated from the broadest possible base. Therefore, it is especially fitting that Unesco (possibly other international bodies, as well) apply its broad-based influence to the advocacy and implementation of policies which, if focused more narrowly, could not possibly encompass all dimensions of the need for direction. With this end in mind, the studies mentioned above were reviewed, and a number of issues which seem to justify policy-level attention were identified. They are presented in the pages which follow, organized into three categories. Because of local and national differences in the organization and presentation of guidance services, and because of increasing complexity of related needs, the categories do not fall comfortably into mutually exclusive classes. Hence, the boundaries used to separate them may appear artificial, and policy statements may indeed cut across the boundaries. Nonetheless, the suggested categories are: 1) those which permit constructive response within the professional guidance community, broadly conceived, acting independently; 2) those which require a moderate level of co-operation among professional groups and/or public agencies; and 3) those which require extensive co-ordination of efforts within, and perhaps even across, national frontiers.

WITHIN THE PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY

As already indicated, the professional community is conceived in very broad terms. For the present purpose, it is meant to encompass educational and vocational guidance functionaries themselves, those professional associations they join to promote their work and the improvement of its scholarly under-pinnings, the colleges and universities where professional preparation is obtainable, and the operators of the settings where guidance is actually performed. The assumption is that this combination of bodies, working together toward the same ends, can be responsive to policy which addresses directly the organization and delivery of guidance services.

Suggestions in this category relate to *conceptualizations* about the transition from school to work, and programme *operations* designed to facilitate it.

Conceptualizations

Two concepts deserve more thorough attention than they sometimes receive in the design of educational and vocational guidance as it relates to transition from school to work: the notion of employability and transition as a process.

Employability. By definition, a central objective of vocational guidance is to assist clients in their search for useful employment. In the reports reviewed, this objective was never neglected, and the transition from formal education into initial employment was obviously viewed as a crucial point in the process, even when it was not directly expressed as such. Furthermore, there was almost always a clear expectation that the transition from school to work would be easier if the specific relationships between education and employment were firmly established and clearly understood by the young people who were actually engaging the process of transition. Although there were sharp differences in the amount of emphasis given to the respective points in the process -- the skills, attitudes, values, and such being transmitted to learners in the education and training on the one hand, and the levels of the same attributes required for effective work performance on the other -- in essentially all cases, the importance of each was openly acknowledged. In some cases, there were very conscious and sometimes quite elaborate efforts to articulate exactly what those linkages are and to design experiences intended to assure that learners would internalize them.

In view of this almost universal consensus on the importance of articulating the links between education (or training) and employment, it is surprising that very little direct attention was addressed to employability. When viewed as the conceptual link between education and work, employability facilitates a fuller understanding of the process of transition from school to work, and provides an objective basis for assigning responsibility for various aspects of the process. Conceived in this fashion, the process can be seen as one in which education and training serve the function of helping learners to become employable and, therefore, attractive to employers. It is, after all, those workers who are adequately employable who retain jobs and, in turn, meet with success because they perform in ways that employers regard as satisfactory enough to reward. It *is* the responsibility of vocational counselors to help their clients become employable, but it is *not* their responsibility to decide which clients actually obtain and advance in jobs.

In general, the concept of employablility has received little systematic scholarly attention. In an important paper in this connection, Herr (1984) spelled out some of the linkages among training, employablity, and employment. Building on Dunn's (1974) definition of employability, "the capacity of the individual to function in a particular work situation or occupation," he placed particular emphasis on the distinction between general and specific employabiliy. *General employability* includes such skill categories as affective work competencies (attitudes, values, and habits), work context skills (peer and supervisory relations, regularity of attendance, willingness to follow rules, understanding organizational life, efficiency, and pride in work), and self-management (decision making, reality testing, using resources for exploratory purposes, knowledge of self and occupational opportunities, and relating academic subject matter to job content). *Specific employability* encompasses skills that are specific to an occupation or an employment setting. All occupations and jobs make a variety of demands on general employability; most require some specific employability skills.

The power of the distinction between general and specific employability should not be underestimated. In the first place, it has become axiomatic (at least in North America and Western Europe) that people seldom lose their jobs because of inadequate technical occupational skills. Depending on whose data are invoked, somewhere between 70 and 95 per cent of the workers who get dismissed or experience adjustment difficulties do so because of interpersonal problems, inept communication skills, poor work habits or attitudes, inability to function as a team member, and such, not because they are deficient in specific employability skills, the technical competence to perform their job tasks. As others have done before him, Herr cited some particulars. In a study conducted by Eggeman, Campbell, and Garbin (1969), 71 per cent of the respondents (763 counselors in youth opportunity centers) reported behaviors such as absence, tardiness, filling out forms, managing interviews, getting along with peers and supervisors, and poor work attitudes as the major problems in work adjustment. Adams and Mangum (1978) found that young people who

continue to experience employment problems after a predictable period of trial and experimentation do not outgrow the problems. Joblessness in youth is predictive of work adjustment problems later in life, in part because valuable experience is lost during periods of unemployment, and in part because the jobless experience affects attitudes toward work. Besides, work adjustment for adults who have experienced extended unemployment (Miller and Oetting, 1977) becomes complicated by such matters as family responsibilities, health and financial problems, and social and interpersonal difficulties. Furthermore, extended periods of unemployment (Perfetti and Bingham, 1983) tend to have a similar negative effect on the worker's family, especially in terms of affective competencies. The less-than-adequate adjustment to work associated with deficiencies in general employablilty, and in particular with affective competencies, may very well stay with people throughout their lives and be transmitted to other family members.

The skills, or lack of them, that proved troublesome to the subjects of the studies cited in the previous paragraph are all learnable skills. Thus, the second reason that the distinction between general and specific employability warrants attention is because of differences in how the two sets of skills are acquired. Specific employability skills are typically learned (and explicitly taught) in formal education, apprenticeships, and on-the-job training. Their relevance to work performance tends to be directly visible and readily comprehensible, though less so, perhaps, in formal education than in other settings. General employability skills may, of course, be learned (though they may not be explicitly taught) in the same settings, but most of them are also influenced in fundamental ways by experiences in the home and the community. Affective competencies, in particular, are directly shaped by home conditions, and the attendant learnings occur early in life and tend to be resistent to change. In considering adaptability to new working conditions later in life, Kazanas (1978, also cited by Herr, 1984) concluded that some affective work competencies, in particular, work values, habits, and attitudes, are crucial to job survival because they are the mediators that spur people to learn new job skills. When these affective competencies are actively addressed in schools, the skills may become crystallized in the early years before their relevance to employment is understood or even attended to by teachers, so the skills might be mastered without understanding their relevance to work. Even if no attempt is made to teach them, they will be learned, however inadequately, through imitation of the adult models in the immediate environment.

These differences in modes of acquiring employability skills lead directly to the third reason for attending to the distinction between the general and specific components -- the kind of attention they receive from professionals. Examples of differential attention are manifest in the case studies reviewed in that education-employment links were more easily detectable with respect to specific than to general employability. In most of the reports, a distinct relation between specific training and job placement was built into the conception of transition from school to work. For example, in Colombia (Bingham, 1986b), Auxiliary Centers for Teaching Services facilitate the transition into work by providing a separate facility where students gain vocational experience while they continue their other studies at school. In some of the Canadian provinces (Conger, 1986), especially Newfoundland and Labrador, work experience is systematically woven into the last years of secondary school for employment-bound students. In Côte d'Ivoire (Perrier, 1986) and Greece (Tzavella, 1986) occupational training for out-of-school young adults includes specific job training. A course offered in the Republic of Ireland (Chamberlain, 1985) provides young people with training in technical job competencies.

Regarding general employability, the overall impression is very different. In a number of the case studies, there are clear references, though the exact words are not necessarily used, to outcomes bearing on affective competencies, work context skills, and self-management, but the manner in which they are actually addressed is vague or stated only in global terms. In a few cases, for example, Taiwan of China (Katz, 1986) and Côte d'Ivoire (Perrier, 1986), the importance of such skills is articulated more concretely in relation to educational progress than to work performance. Though many of the case studies identify general employability skills rather extensively in statements of goals, the attention they receive in programme descriptions is generally less detailed, and with the exception of some (usually vague) references to worker satisfaction, evaluations of programme effectiveness, almost exclusively, report impressions and data about specific employability skills. The programmes for out-of-school youth in Greece, Côte d'Ivoire, and

the Republic of Ireland which were noted in the previous paragraph also include references to some general employability skills, apparently acknowledging that they were not adequately attended to during formal education. The most systematic treatment of general employability appears to occur in those countries which incorporate into their general education programmes something akin to what is called careers education in the United Kingdom. Some of these, for instance, the United States (Herr, 1985), Canada (Conger, 1986), the United Kingdom (Watts, 1985), present carefully designed programmes which extend through much of the school life of students. In the most thorough of these programmes, some components of the process are better articulated than others, and in general, self-management skills, especially decision making, consistently receive the most comprehensive treatment.

A somewhat different manner of addressing the intraction between general and specific employability skills occurs in some Eastern European countries in the form of what Isaksson (1982) called the school patronage system. He identified such a system as operating in Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary, and Bulgaria. In the case studies reviewed, Poland (Kluczynski, 1985), the German Democratic Republic (Hohn, 1985), and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (Zhiltsov, 1985) appear to operate a very similar arrangement. In this system, a secondary school is under the patronage of one or more industrial or other enterpises. By contract, the sponsoring enterprise provides technical and specialized assistance, and students are trained to work in occupations within the sponsoring enterprise. Regarding the transition from school to work, this kind of arrangement has several self-evident advantages, but in the present context, one of them is of special interest because it appears to have the potential, though apparently not specified as a purpose, of simultaneously addressing both specific and general employability skills. With regular student participation in the actual work site, it seems inevitable that some monitoring of effective performance regarding affective competencies, work context skills, and self-management would occur even if it were not stipulated in the contract. Thus, by some combination of coaching, possibly cajoling, perhaps direct instruction, and rather close supervision, the young worker would learn what the employer expects in terms of all (not just the technical) dimensions of the job, and, presumably, would also have a more-than-adequate opportunity to acquire the necessary skills. In this connection, the system probably works much as apprenticeships once did in less technically complex economies.

Consideration of the illustrations cited in the immediately preceding paragraphs supports several observations about general employability which can be addressed by policy statements: 1) insufficient mastery of the component skills (affective competencies, work context skills, and self-management) has important consequences in terms of both immediate and longer-term work adjustment; 2) in vocational guidance programmes designed to integrate young people into working life, it receives less systematic attention than specific employability; 3) in some cases, its function in the transition process is not well understood and it may be neglected in programme design; 4) where its function seems to be understood, it is often not very well articulated. Introducing the notion of employability into conceptualizations of the transition process holds the promise of permitting more refined analysis than usually occurs of the relationship between education and employment. In turn, more precise understanding of the process would encourage more effective programme design, especially by permitting distinctions as to which levels of education should be held accountable for transmitting each kind of general and specific employability skills. A Unesco policy statement directing awareness to the importance of employability would probably be very instrumental in speeding the attention it receives from theorists and practitioners alike.

The process of transition. In the most extensive of the studies reviewed (Bingham, 1986a), a case was made to support the importance of regarding the transition from school to work as a process that extends over several years. When transition learning is viewed as requiring that students be assisted to attain "a realistic appreciation of the environment into which (they) are moving . . . and becoming equipped with the coping skills needed to accomplish this transition appropriately and successfully" (Watts, 1978, p. 26), the concept of transition becomes embedded in a framework that enables its users to comprehend the importance of taking a long-term perspective on what is needed in order that young people be ready to manage the process. In the model that Watts uses (Law and Watts, 1977), the

"coping skills" referred to incorporate self-understanding, awareness of opportunities, and decision-making skills, as well as skills explicitly germane to the event of transition. Many of the learnings requisite for successful transition cannot be mastered sufficiently if opportunities to learn them are provided only in direct association with the transition -- they need to be accumulated gradually over a period of years. In a similar vein, neither can the "realistic appreciation" of an employment environment be attained with any adequacy before the act of moving into it, or for that matter, immediately upon doing so. Clearly, this conceptualization implies that, in order to negotiate the transition from the role of student into the role of worker, young people need extended professional attention to become ready for the experience and some degree of continuing professional attention to help them to stabilize their functioning in the new context.

In the studies reviewed, the transition into work was never treated as a totally isolated event. In each case, there is evidence that preparation needs to extend over some period of time before students are ready for employment. However, possible shortcomings in the conceptualization are manifest in at least three ways: the balance of attention devoted to general and specific employability skills, the span of time over which preparation for work receives active attention in schools, and awareness of the need for assistance after leaving school.

Regarding the relative proportion of time and effort devoted to general and specific employability skills, in all fairness, it must be acknowledged that the brevity of some of the reports does not permit a definitive judgment. It may well be that actual programmes include attention to general employability, but it was not reported in any detail because the writer felt constrained by space limits. It is also conceivable that the relevance of many general employability skills is taken for granted and an assumption made that everybody knows they will be attended to. Whatever the case, the reported attention to general employability does vary broadly across the reviewed studies. Even those studies which report rather extensive treatment of skills and attitudes related to general employability apparently do not address all of its dimensions with equal thoroughness. Hence, it appears that essentially all programme operators could improve the quality of what they offer by directing more specific attention to the full range of learnable general employability skills that young people need in order to cope with the transition into work.

The span of time over which readiness for employment gets addressed differs a great deal across the studies reviewed. All programmes offer some related education in the last two or three years before the completion of compulsory education; others begin two or three years earlier than that; a few begin during the first year of children's formal education. In general, in those settings where the instruction begins early, there appears to be a fuller comprehension of the intricacies of the relationship between education and employment. As in the previous paragraph, it is possible that brief reports obscure some important aspects of what actually occurs in programmes that are reported in less detail. Aside from that possibility, it makes sense to encourage formal investigation of whether extended instruction is associated with improved performance at work. If studies show a positive relationship, then it makes sense to encourage all programme operators to consider extending offerings in an effort to gain the advantages of longer-term preparation.

There is little evidence that the need for continuation of guidance services beyond the first work placement is well understood. Even where it is, however, as in Canada (Conger, 1986), responsibility is shifted from one agency to another upon the completion of schooling. This discontinuity of service delivery introduces an element of inefficiency and no doubt permits some clients to fall out of the system. The Eastern European patronage system described in the previous section represents some awareness of the need for continuing attention as workers begin their employment, but it may also operate as a disadvantage. Since work appears to be possible only in the sponsoring enterprise, one can question whether the preparation is general enough to carry over when a worker moves to a new employer. Perhaps the assumption is that success in managing the first transition provides the kind of learning which is transferable. Other programmes already mentioned (Greece, Côte d'Ivoire, and the Republic of Ireland) express some awareness of the need by incorporating a number of guidance services into their programmes for unemployed young adults. Over the long run, perhaps it would be both more effective and less expensive to provide the same specialized attention prior to completion of compulsory education rather than afterward. All of these alternative actions relating to guidance support during periods

of initial employment probably ought to be studied carefully to determine their relative efficacy in various settings.

On the basis of available evidence, though admittedly most of it is impressionistic, conceiving the process of transition as long-term appears to make a difference in the quality of programme offerings. Therefore, it is appropriate for Unesco to take a policy position encouraging the professional guidance community to adopt a longer-term perspective than is typical. At the same time, it would be possible for Unesco to recommend that systematic research be undertaken to investigate in detail the long-range merits of programmes so conceived. As results of the studies accumulate, the specific focus of support could be modified to reflect the data.

Programme operations

It should be anticipated that actions deriving from the kinds of policy statements suggested in the previous section would result in programme modifications that may well suggest additional policies regarding programme operations. On the basis of the programme content reported in the studies reviewed, however, there are two areas that need immediate policy attention. They are the present diversity of guidance functions and the common practice of borrowing programme ideas and materials from others.

Diversity of guidance functions. Just as the complexity and extensiveness of guidance for transition into work have increased dramatically in recent decades, so has the diversity of functions which guidance personnel attempt to offer. Newly established programmes, of course, do not typically offer as wide a range of services as well established ones, but the very availability of such services has a way of generating a demand for more of them. Hence, in the face of rapidly accelerating technological change, it can be expected that demands for a broader range of services will emerge close on the heels of the introduction of new services, as in New Zealand (Small, 1985), for example, where the number of staff involved in transition programmes increased nearly five fold between 1979 and 1984. Even where guidance services have only recently been initiated, it seems reasonable to expect that the demand for additional services is likely to outpace the availability of resources.

In the studies reviewed, diversity of services is manifest in three major aspects of guidance functions: programme content, the target populations to be served, and instructional materials and equipment which have become available. Each of them warrants some consideration in terms of policy.

To an important extent, the growing diversity in *programme content* occurs as a direct result of refined conceptualizations of the transition process. As noted above, readiness to negotiate the transition from school to work requires skills which cannot be acquired on short notice (for a fuller discussion of this issue, see Bingham, 1986a). As guidance personnel and other educators have come to recognize this need, they have designed guidance interventions that span, in some cases, as in parts of Canada (Conger, 1986), the entire school experience. References to such concepts as self-understanding, personal competence, life skills, interpersonal skills, awareness of opportunities, decidion-making ability, and self-management occur frequently in statements of goals and in programme components. In his review of some of the literature on such extensions of guidance programmes, Herr (1985) concluded that the research helps to define specific learnable skills which young people need in order to manage the transition into work, and also that active student/counselor participation in related learning tasks helps young people to develop confidence in their ability to cope with the transition.

The research reviewed by Herr was conducted primarily in the United States, but the learnable skills he referred to are certain to be related to success at work in most cultures. Even though some of the explicit skill demands may not be identical in all localities, the central finding that young people seeking work for the first time lack skills in critical deimensions of finding and surviving in employment is likely to be duplicated no matter what the cultural or national setting. Therefore, it makes sense that Unesco should adopt a policy endorsing (and perhaps supporting) research which identifies exactly which learnable skills need to be mastered by individuals in order to assure all young people's readiness for success in finding and keeping a job. It would be desirable if the same research could identify which educational experiences are associated with the increased self-confidence that

Herr noted in his concluding statement. Since this kind of research seldom occurs in front-line guidance operations, policy statements regarding it probably need to be directed to the institutions of higher education which prepare guidance workers and to the scholarly societies to which they belong.

Over recent decades, a number of social consciousness-raising activities have sensitized entire populations to the employment needs of special groups of prospective workers: minorities, women, youth at risk of unemployment, the chronically unemployed, physically and emotionally disabled individuals, aging citizens, and so on. In most of the countries represented in the studies reviewed, some such groups have become identified as special target populations for educational and vocational guidance services. Acknowledging the special needs of these groups, however, is an insufficient response. Practicing guidance workers often avoid working with specified target populations because they believe that their training has not prepared them explicitly to do so. There are probably two respects in which counselor education may be deficient in this connection: functioning counselors need to be informed about and understand the culture from which members of a specified target population come, and they need to come to grips with their own attitudes about such groups. Both of these needs can probably be addressed most efficiently by including people from the target populations among those being trained as guidance workers (cf. Okon, 1983, cited by Bingham, 1986a). Accordingly, it is appropriate for Unesco policy to encourge the institutions which train guidance workers to recruit students from the ranks of target populations, and to make whatever modifications in the training programme are necessary to accommodate them. Such policy should also encourage programme operators to hire these "indigenous" graduates, and to use them explicitly in helping those already functioning as guidance workers to understand the culture of the target group, and if needed, to assist them in adjusting their attitudes toward members of the group.

In a number of countries such as Taiwan of China (Katz, 1986), Canada (Conger, 1986), the United Kingdom (Watts, 1985), New Zealand (Small, 1985), the United States (Long and Drier, 1985) the use of computers is helping in the transmission of the learnings built into these extended guidance services, but computers (plus a variety of other technical devises), in and of themselves, constitute an additional dimension of diversity that programme operators must contend with. Also in a some countries, for example, the United Kingdom (Kidd, 1985) and India (Bengalee, 1985), the guidance experience has been diversified by bringing people who are not guidance specialists (workers, former students, industrial representatives, etc.) into the schools. On another dimension, the extension of guidance functions into lower grades imposes on guidance personnel the responsibility of knowing something about curriculum and instruction in order to be able to judge the adequacy of materials used to support the instructional efforts. As noted by Watts (1985), counselors increasingly see themselves, not so much as self-sufficient professionals, but as managers of resources. There is reason to believe that, for most counselors, their training has not prepared them to execute the kind of management strategies suggested by Watts' comment. For the most part, they have to learn those skills on their own as the demand for them becomes pressing. The guidance tasks which require co-ordination of a variety of resource personnel, instructional materials, and electronic equipment designed to facilitate service delivery call on skills which the workers have not been trained for. By and large, no matter how well-trained guidance specialists may be otherwise, it can be said with certainty that they have not been trained to manage all of the programme components encountered in the kind of programme expansion which has already occurred and is likely to increase. Because of these factors, it would be reasonable for Unesco to consider endorsing a policy statement which calls upon the educatiors of guidance personnel to be guided by the increasing diversity of guidance functions in establishing the training requirements they expect their students to meet. For trainers to fail to do so may be tantamount to misleading their graduates as to what they are likely to encounter on the job.

Borrowing from others

Almost all countries, at one time or another, have "borrowed" ideas and practices from other countries. As spelled out in some detail in one of the studies reviewed (Bingham, 1986a), borrowing guidance formulations and practices from other locations where they appear to

have worked well can offer distinct advantages, but the practice also creates potential pitfalls. Most often this borrowing occurs on the part of agencies which are developing new programmes and the decision to borrow, seen as an efficient way to proceed, is motivated by a desire for rapid improvement of offerings. Usually, it is from others who are perceived as operating effective programmes that the borrowed ideas are taken. In some cases, the borrowing is nothing more than direct adoption of what already exists, but frequently enough, the adopters find that the anticipated success does not materialize, so modifications need to be undertaken in order to make the ideas or materials more suitable to their own local conditions.

The experience in Canada, as reported by Conger (1986), illustrates the full range of possibilities. In their early efforts, Canadians simply used assessment devices which had been developed in the United States. In spite of the many similarlities in the two cultures, it was discovered that the adoption was inadequate, so strategies had to be designed to modify the borrowed devices to make them more specifically appropriate to the culture in which they were being used. More recently, Canada has embarked upon an extensive project of developing its own assessment instruments, in part, because the modifications needed proved to be more extensive than originally expected. Perhaps it would have been more efficient had they begun developing their own assessment devices in the first place.

In the long run, of course, the effective interventions are those which take full account of local cultural imperatives. In all likelihood, guidance workers who decide to use programme ideas and materials designed for cultures which are different from their own recognize at least some of the limitations of what they are doing, and probably, they are not entirely unaware of the inherent dangers in their efforts. For example, it may be assumed that as long as an adequate translation is made into the local language that the borrowed materials will serve adequately. The experience in Canada, however, as in India (see Mehta, 1980), demonstrates otherwise: much more than the language makes borrowed materials difficult to adapt. No doubt, persistence in trying to capitalize on other people's success represents a hope that progress toward sound performance can be accelerated, but reported experience often suggests that little acceleration is actually achieved.

On the other hand, however, the hope for accelerated progress is certainly not unreasonable, and is probably not unfounded. The Canadian experience, for example, suggests that considerable progress was indeed made during the period in which the "foreign" materials were in active use. In spite of the obvious inadequacy of the instruments for all clients, their use did facilitate some useful delivery of service, and at the same time, identification of the needed modifications proceeded, and gradually some of modifications were implemented. But the Canadian experience also suggests that it takes time, as well as a good deal of technical competence, to reach a point where it is possible to undertake the full development of local materials unassisted, especially where assessment instruments are involved. Most guidance personnel, no matter how well they have been trained, do not have the technical competence to develop curriculum and assessment materials without assistance from psychometricians, statisticians, curriculum specialists, and other such experts.

Perhaps Unesco is in a position to help guidance workers to find efficient ways to engage in the practice of borrowing ideas that are attractive to them. A reasonable first step, it seems, would be to commission position papers which would delineate some advantages and disadvantages of borrowing across cultures. A central purpose of these papers would be to spell out in some detail the considerations which must be borne in mind in deciding whether or not certain practices can be managed efficiently. They might, in fact, include guidelines for decising whether adoption, adaptation, or "starting from scratch" is likely to profitable. Based on the content and recommendations of these position papers, a policy statement could be developed encouraging the adoption of those aspects of borrowing which clearly can be beneficial, including guidelines designed to assist members of the professional guidance community to make good judgments about using and adapting materials and ideas so they can capitalize on others' good planning without repeating the mistakes that others have made along the way.

Though all of the policy suggestions offered in this section have been designated as permitting constructive response by the professional community, obviously, some of them may also require a degree co-operation with other agencies or occupational groups in order

to attain full implementation. This prospect should be kept in awareness in reacting to the proposals.

MODERATE LEVELS OF CO-OPERATION

In part because of the complexity of the problems addressed by educational and vocational guidance programmes dealing with the transition from school to work, and in part because of the growing diversity of guidance functions emerging in such programmes, some improvements cannot be undertaken by the professional guidance community acting only on its own devices. Effective responsiveness requires a considerable amount of co-operation either among governmental bodies or among somewhat disparate academic disciplines. The first suggestion, regarding occupational information, falls into the former category; the second, fostering the enhancement of the theory underlying effective guidance practice (implying, of course, research to support the theory) through interdisciplinary co-operation, falls into the latter.

Occupational information

All of the case studies reviewed incorporated some reference to the importance of accurate and useful information for guidance related to the transition from school to work. Ordinarily, several types of information were intended, covering the range of factors that clients might consider in making decisions about their educational and occupational futures: clients' own attributes, performance, ability, and motives; relationships between general educational requirements and performance at work; educational opportunities leading to desired occupational placement; working and social conditions at specific employment sites; the labor force; and both general and specific data about particular occupations or groups of related occupations. Of these various types of information, it is occupational information which is of particular and immediate concern, and which is directly addressed by the recommendations which follow. It should be noted, however, that much of the rationale used to justify policy action relating to occupational information may apply equally to other kinds of information, and can be invoked to support comparable policy relating to the other types of information.

It is not unusual to encounter complaints by professional guidance workers that the required occupational information does not exist. Counselors in the Greek Manpower Employment Organization reached this conclusion (Tzavella, 1986) and proceeded to develop their own. Katz (1986) reported a similar reaction on the part of professionals in Taiwan of China, but, as he also observed, in most countries a great deal of occcupational information does in fact exist, but its usefulness may not be apparent because, in all likelihood, it was not compiled and organized explicitly to serve guidance purposes. Actually, Perrier (1986), in her desription of vocational guidance in Côte d'Ivoire, may have been addressing a similar notion about the prevailing situation when she noted that important information is indeed available but that counselors do not make effective use of it. Whether Katz or Perrier is offering the more accurate appraisal of what actually occurs, it is a certainty that, in addition to Côte d'Ivoire and Taiwan of China, there are many countries where the utility of available information has been overlooked simply because its form or structure was not obviously relevant to guidance, or because it is typically reported in sources not routinely consulted by guidance workers. Even though appropriate sources may be consulted, different assumptions and data analysis models (Tessaring, 1984) may make comparisons of data obtained from different sources very difficult. When information is collected for census purposes, for manpower planning, or for fiscal policy making, the structure in which it is organized and presented, as pointed out by Katz (1986), may obscure its usefulness for guidance because of the high level of aggregation usually employed. When allowed to remain in this highly aggregated form, much information relevant to occupational choice may go unused entirely, or at best, may be used ineffectively.

As noted in one of the studies reviewed (Bingham, 1986a), no matter what the quality or scope of occupational information, it does influence decision- making behavior about occupational choice. Given this fact, it is desirable that available information be explicitly

useful to choosing. Katz (1986) suggested that the major objective of informed career decision making is to facilitate those choices which provide the greatest rewards and satisfactions while avoiding excessive risks and investments. He sees three functions in such a model: to reduce the usually enormous number and variety of occupations to a manageable list of options worthy of continued consideration; to make finer distinctions among occupations in order to "close in" on a choice that offers an optimum combination of desirable outcomes and probable success; and to take the steps necessary to implement an occupational choice. In order to serve in such a model, occupational information has to be organized around occupational titles, and include the kind of detail that permits choosers to compare their own attributes and aspirations with opportunities available in the occupation, perhaps even at specific job sites. The highly aggregated information referred to above may be, and typically is, organized otherwise, perhaps by industry or enterprise, perhaps in a format paralleling governmental departments, pehaps by broad families of occupations. In any of these forms, information is of limited use to individuals in the process of moving out of school and into work.

To serve guidance purposes, such information needs to be disaggregated -- to be taken apart, so to speak, and reassembled in a form that is explicitly useful for guidance, a form that facilitates choices among options. But, as Katz noted, efforts to persuade agencies (most frequently government bodies) which produce the information in its available form to undertake the additional analyses will probably be met with resistance. A Unesco policy underscoring the utility of having occupational information available in a form which explicitly facilitates choosing among occupational alternatives would probably help to penetrate, or at least soften, such resistance, and for that reason alone, it represents a desirable step. Practitioners, and others in the professional guidance community, could use such a policy as an entry point for negotiating with administrative personnel in the agencies which produce the information in the first place. The purpose, of course, would be to find some means of converting the information into a form useful in guidance. No matter how enthusiastically the affected agencies might respond to such an appeal, however, the obstacles of limited monetary resources and expert personnel would probably permit only very slow progress toward the desired end.

An additional step seems likely to accelerate that progress. Unesco's Division of Educational Policy and Planning might undertake the production of handbooks or guidelines designed to assist professional counselors in learning how to accumulate and organize local occupational information for their own use. Such publications might draw heavily on the experiences of counselors who have undertaken similar activities on their own, such as the Greek Manpower Employment Organization (Tzavella, 1986) and the more systematic efforts of government agencies which have already developed sophisticated information systems, such as Employment and Immigration Canada and the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the United States. More particularly, they might build upon Katz's (1986) detailed suggestions for encouraging employers, government agencies, and training institutions to work co-operatively in constructing a procedure for generating and up-dating occupational information on a continuing basis. Especially for those who find themselves working with relatively little available information, the procedures employed by Hallack and Caillods (1980), particularly their data-collection questionnaire, might prove quite helpful. It might be useful to prepare the guidelines so they would be useful as well in locations where a fairly dependable supply of occupational information already exists. The reason is, as noted by Tessaring (1984), that demographic data can become dated quickly, and there may be long intervals between collection dates by federal agencies. Those prqctitioners who have skills in compiling their own data can do a better job of keeping yp to date during the gaps that are likely to exist in publication schedules.

Whatever their form, it seems essential that such guidelines emphasize two overarching considerations: (1) the process of generating the information in useful form moves slowly and requires continuing dedication of personnel and commitment of resources; but (2) the ultimate benefits of the investment are more efficient transition into employment for users of guidance services and greater satisfaction for its providers. In addition, over the long term, the efficient use of appropriate information is probably beneficial to the economy at large.

Interdisciplinary co-operation

The diversity of guidance functions reflects a tendency to employ both data and theoretical ideas taken from a variety of academic disciplines. From general knowledge, it is clear that guidance workers are not typically trained in all of the disciplines which they draw upon. Yet, in reviewing the studies for this report, it was impressive that both the authors of the studies and the designers of the programmes they described were remarkably well informed about much of the relevant subject matter. At the same time, however, it was not difficult to speculate that substantial programme improvements would be possible, in almost all cases, if some additional idea or fact were incorporated into the conceptualization. It is the obvious need for this kind of assistance which gives rise to suggestions put forth in this category.

As demonstrated in an early textbook (Super, 1957), the theoretical and data-based ideas on which sound educational and vocational guidance programmes are based are drawn from a broad range of academic disciplines: several specialties in psychology (human development, learning and cognition, social psychology, individual differences, etc.), sociology, anthropology, economics. Ideally, it would be desirable for guidance workers to have a working knowledge of each of these disciplines. In addition, it would be useful for them to have more than a passing acquaintance with other disciplines such as philosophy, history, and politics. In practice, however, it is obviously not possible for large numbers of guidance workers to be educated to this ideal level of mastery of all of the desirable knowledge. To some extent, the need for this kind of broad-based perspective has been filled by the leading scholars in the field who bring essential concepts and data together in texts such as Super's, and by competent educators who build a comparable scope of information into the content of their training courses and include comprehensive field experiences as a requirment in their training programmes. The effectiveness of these efforts is manifest in the quality of some of the ideas incorporated into the studies reviewed.

But the information explosion which has been overwhelming the academic and scientific establishments in recent decades has not spared vocational guidance. Because of this acceleration, new information is being generated more rapidly than it can be absorbed and put to use. For example, in the United States today, there are probably at least three dozen professional journals which publish articles that have some important bearing on vocational guidance, not to mention the international journals which hold interest for US practitioners. To a lesser extent, perhaps, the same observation can be made about other parts of the world. Even though the task of reviewing the literature has been made more efficient through the use of computer-assisted searches, it remains extraordinarily difficult to be exhaustive in compiling current research on an isolated concept, much less, on the range of information that guidance workers, in ideal circumstances, might be expected to be informed about. The structure of Unesco, itself, underscores the complexity of keeping informed, with several of its divisions (the Division for Educational Policy and Planning, the International Bureau of Education, the Institute for Lifelong Learning, the International Institute for Educational Planning) producing materials which are relevant to educational and vocational guidance. Other United Nations organizations, as well, such as the International Labor Organization and UNICEF produce equally relevant information, though in smaller proportions.

In view of the obvious difficulty that guidance workers face in keeping informed about their field, it would be very helpful if Unesco could espouse a number of policies designed to help them keep up to date. To begin with, all appropriate professional associations might be encouraged to include programmes relating their particular expertise to the transition from school to work in their regular professional association conferences and congresses. It would also be necessary to suggest that guidance workers, even though they are not members of the association, be invited to such meetings. Of course, guidance workers would have to be encouraged to attend, and in some circumstances, they may need financial suopport in order to do so.

A second step might be to encourage world (or regional) congresses devoted exclusively to transition from school to work, but organized so that experts from a variety of disciplines would be invited to consider the attendant problems together. It might be suitable to invite the leaders of selected international groups to combine their efforts in

testing the effectiveness of such an arrangement. After a few successful trials, it would be possible to construct a paradigm that others could follow in organizing conferences along similar lines. It may be possible to persuade the delegates who attend such meetings to establish links among their respective professional associations that could be maintained beyond the occasion of the specially scheduled conference.

On a more expansive scale, Unesco might consider a policy which endorses the creation of some kind of clearing house (perhaps a series of clearing houses, one in each region of the world) to serve as a depository for scientific and cultural information related to the transition from school to work. The clearing house, though it might become a complicated bureaucracy itself, could operate in such a fashion that experts from each of the approriate disciplines would be encouraged to distill essential ideas and data into useful form. The information could then be made ready for dissemination to those who need it.

An existing model serves to illustrate the range of services that might be made available through clearing houses such as those suggested in the previous paragraph. The European Center for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) has been in existence for more than a decade. As an agent of the European Economic Community, CEDEFOP has provided its constituents with a variety of services related to vocational training. Examples which are relevant to the present context are the publication of bibliographies (see Chome, 1986), a journal including articles and reports (see, for example, *Vocational Training*, 1985), and research reports (for example, Barr & Hutchinson, 1979).

EXTENSIVE LEVELS OF CO-ORDINATION

Two of the issues identified in reviewing the studies for this paper seem to require much more extensive co-ordination of resources than the suggestions made above if a suitable response is to be found. The first relates to a recurring sense of frustration that professionals experience under certain circumstances; the second relates to understanding and making effective use of demographic data.

In none of the reviewed studies was there direct mention of either of these issues. They were identified by "reading between the lines," so to speak, and interpreting some statements in the reports in the context of general knowledge of the operating concerns of functionaries who attempt to facilitate the transition from school to work.

Addressing the frustrations

The overriding frustration that practitioners get concerned about is the feeling of futility associated with preparing young people to find employment when jobs do not appear to exist. Often, the frustration fosters a belief that some kind of political action aimed at influencing public policy would offer a remedy. While this is not the context in which to take a position on the merits of such political action, a description of the related feelings will set the tone of the accompanying frustrations.

Periodically, since the Great Depression in the 1930s, a controversy has surfaced among vocational guidance experts as to whether it is appropriate to muster professional energies in efforts to influence public policy. Some thinkers have consistently taken the position that political action of any kind is beyond the role and the competence of guidance workers; others have held that the forces which dominate the availablility of employment opportunities are responsive only to public outcry. While there has never been a broad consensus in their favor, from time to time, the calls for collective political action have gained some popularity. The advocates seem to accrue credibility when, as is currently the case in several parts of the world, the number of new entrants into the labor market exceeds the number of obtainable positions and the call is precisely for the creation of additional jobs to correct that imbalance. This kind of call sometimes appeals to guidance workers because it falls so close to the perceived source of their sense of frustration and feelings of helplessness.

It is not difficult to understand that professional workers who devote their lives to advancing the purposes of vocational guidance -- of assisting others to understand themselves and the occupational structure so they can become employable and then choose

wisely from among available alternatives -- find a sense of futility in preparing young people for jobs which may not exist when they are ready to enter the labor market. They are left with a nagging belief that no matter how well they do their jobs, their clients may suffer the psychological aftermath of false hopes and unfulfilled promises.

A combination of factors seems to contribute to these feelings of frustration. Concern about elevated levels of youth unemployment appears to be a major factor in creating many of the programmes reported in the studies reviewed. Although the goals of vocational guidance are couched in terms such as "satisfying employment," in the United Kingdom (Watts, 1985), youth are seen instead as settling for whatever jobs are available rather than finding work that is compatible with their own attributes. In New Zealand (Small, 1985), 10 per cent of young people become unemployed immediately upon leaving school. In the United States (Hodgkinson, 1986), as in many other countries, unemployment rates among youth tend to be at least double the national average. As a matter of fact, apprehension that young people are likely to find themselves jobless at some time, especially early, in their lives has led some pundits in the United States to advocate that good vocational guidance includes preparation for periods of unemployment. The implication seems to be that unemployment, like death and taxes, is inevitable and ought to be treated as part of the normal course of affairs in human experience. In addition to unemployment that results from cyclical economic variations or structural mismatches in worker supply and demand, recent social action programmes (Bingham, 1980) have tended to increase the competition for the jobs which do exist by enabling formerly excluded groups (women, minorities, the physically and mentally disabled, for example) to participate in the labor force. Because unemployed people are recognized as a burden on the public budget, in the United States today, 38 of the 50 states (ABC News, 1986) have community-sponsored employment and training programmes (not only for youth) designed precisely to reduce the number of people receiving welfare and other kinds of public support.

In most cases, people who possess the suitable employability skills become and/or remain unemployed because sufficient jobs do not exist, not because they like being "idle." Guidance workers who have tried to assist unemployed people to find work understand that being unemployed is not idleness. On the contrary, it can be, and often is, a full-time activity. The difference is that the search carries none of the financial rewards, directed activity, social alliances, feelings of doing something worthwhile, or opportunites for self-fulfillment associated with work. It is not surprising that the effort leads to discouragement and despair. No wonder professional helpers become frustrated.

The economic pressures which create the circumstances just described represent obstacles to the effective functioning of programmes for the transition from school to work. To be sure, guidance personnel are not responsible for creating the circumstances, nor can they create the needed jobs. The very presence of the right conditions, however, does have an impact on the way they approach their daily work, on the enthusiasm, dedication, and confidence with which they try to help clients. From time to time, they need reassurance that all is not in vain.

Perhaps they could find that reassurance if they knew there was a network of investigators studying the impact of such frustrations on professionals' job performance. Such a network might reach out to practitioners to learn about the sources of frustration in their daily work. Knowing that some agency is attending to the perplexing concerns might just help professionals to maintain their stamina and see the frustrations through. Perhaps the same network, through a newsletter or some such instrument, could relay information back to practitioners regarding the remedial proposals being considered and the progress being made with respect to each of them. This kind of information would probably also be perceived as supportive. Perhaps Unesco could adopt a policy supporting the establishment of such networks.

Understanding and using demographic projections

Technological change inevitably brings with it concommitant changes in the structure of the labor market. Some occupations get phased out while new ones are created. Unfortunately, the new occupations seldom accommodate the skills which were suited to those that disappeared, creating a troublesome imbalance between properly trained workers and the

needs of the economy. Over the decades immediately ahead, technological change is likely to accelerate very dramatically in most parts of the world, and as a consequence, the problems of structural imbalance in the labor market are likely to be compounded.

Accurate demographic projections are not always readily accessible, but even when they are, it is not unusual for them to be ignored, discredited, or disbelieved. Perhaps there is little confidence in the reliability of such projections; or perhaps it is just difficult for people to believe that the future is predictable. The consequences of failing to take demographic data into account, however, can be costly. Two examples of both the lack of foresight and the cost will illustrate the point.

The first illustration comes from a story often told by Seymour Wolfbein, who was then an economist with the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Washington, DC. He described an experience he had in 1947 when he appeared before a US Senate committee which was considering legislation about some specialized vocational training which had been proposed to meet the needs of what was seen as a rapidly expanding post-war economy. In the course of his testimony in support of the legislation, Dr. Wolfbein mentioned that in 1965 there would one million more workers entering the labor force than in 1964. When queried as to how he knew that, he responded that it was a simple projection: in 1947 a million more babies had been born than in 1946, and in 1965, they would all be 18 years old and ready to go to work. Apparently, the Senators were not persuaded by his wisdom, because something approximating the legislation in question was not enacted until 1963.

The second example could come from the experience of almost any guidance worker who has spent part of his or her professional life living through a period of high unemployment or rapid economic expansion. Stories are legion about special vocational training programmes which were instituted to fill jobs that no longer existed by the time the training was completed.

In both of the illustrative cases, the lack of foresight resulted in personal anguish for many workers and failed to make efficient use of limited financial resources. But they do show how misuse of demographic data can prove costly. While guidance workers are not customarily called upon to make the kinds of decisions illustrated, they are expected to help their clients understand what the employment prospects are likely to be at some future date. They are expected to know what kinds of occupations will have vacancies, where the required training can be obtained, and the geographic location in which the actual vacancies are likely to be found. Typically, they are expected to know these things about a broad range of occupations.

In order to meet the indicated expectations, training in the understanding and use of demographic data is necessary. Since guidance workers are likely to be required to use the projections compiled by others rather than produce their own, the first suggestion in this category is directed to the educators of guidance workers. As such, it seems to fit better with the first category of suggestions which was directed to the professional guidance community. It makes more sense, though, to include it here in the same context as others regarding demographic projections. The suggestion is that Unesco adopt a policy encouraging the inclusion of at least elementary demography in the training of all guidance workers. Beyond understanding basic demographic data, students in these courses should be able to demonstrate that are able to make satisfactory appraisals of the probable adequacy of the demographic projections they will be called upon to use in their work.

As was shown to be the case with occupational information, demographic data are also frequently available in a form that is not directly applicable to projections about specific occupational opportunities. Just as with occupational information, demographic data often need to be disaggragated in order to be directly usable in guidance programmes. Therefore, it seems appropriate that Unesco, through its policy procedures, encourage the agencies producing related data to undertake the additional analyses which would make them more applicable to the transition from school to work. The same policy could address the need to bring together all of the demographic data related to the transition from school to work, which were possibly compiled by several different agencies, into a central location so they could be easily distributed to prospective users. If the clearing houses mentioned earlier come into existance, they would be appropriate central locations.

A final suggestion for policy needs to be addressed to the compilers of demographic data. To begin with, the need for the most accurate and relevant data needs to be emphasized, of course. Beyond that, however, attention probably needs to be addressed to

the need, after the data have been disaggragated, to reassemble them so that ambiguities and contradictions can be sifted out and rearranged into useful interpretations of interacting trends. If this last step is not taken, misinterpretations will probably lead to unproductive policy decisions. Once again, a couple of illustrations will underscore the point.

In her report on Côte d'Ivoire, Perrier (1986) pointed out that much of the education was designed to train people for occupations assumed to become available as a result of emerging technology. Over the short run, that expectation may be met with reasonable accuracy, but over the longer run, the promise that technology will generate as many jobs as it eliminates appears to be somewhat less than accurate. In the United States (Hodgkinson, 1986), for example, the impact of computers on information processing and storage has grown rapidly, holding out the expectation that many jobs would be eliminated, but other equally desirable jobs would also be created. What now appears to be the reality, at least within this particular enterprise, is that a bi-modal distribution of the work force is evolving to replace the more familiar, and better understood, normally distributed one. Some new and attractive upper-level administrative positions have been created, producing a narrow peak near the upper end of the distribution. On the other hand, however, an enormous number of clerical jobs has been created, producing a very broad peak toward the lower end of the distribution. Between the two peaks lies a trough that was formerly occupied by technical and middle-management jobs. One cannot help but wonder if similar changes are to follow in the distribution of workers in other enterprises, perhaps first in the already rapidly expanding service occupations. Will the same trends be repeated in other countries? If they are, what will the consequences be? Are the necessary resources at hand to permit constructive response to the resulting disruptions in individual lives and national economies?

Another trend in the United States, which arose quite independently of computer technology but has come to interact with it, is the public demand for more and more formal education. As reported in some of the studies reviewed, and implied in others, educational systems have frequently been expanded to accommodate the anticipated occupational needs of an expanding economy. As people have benefited from higher levels of education, they have come to expect even higher levels for their children. The demand often exceeds the supply, so that in many parts of the world, parallel and alternative routes to educational attainment have been established to meet the demand that public facilities cannot accommodate.

An aside is in order at this point to make an observation from the viewpoint of vocational psychology. It is not undesirable that people obtain more education than they need for employment. It is psychologically sound for an individual to become highly educated simply for self-fulfillment if that is the individual's own objective or aspiration. In point of fact, however, the vast majority of those who are eager for additional education are motivated, not by desires for self-fulfillment in some abstract sense, but rather, by expectaions that the education provides an occupational advantage. When such an advantage does not materialize, the expectation may be followed by disappointment and disillusionment. And that is a problem.

Educational aspirations have been met in the United States to the extent that approximately 14 per cent of all workers now possess a college education (Hodgkinson, 1985), and by the year 2000, that figure will increase to 25 per cent. In itself, this fact is not alarming, and from some perspectives, may even seem enviable. In juxtaposition with another fact, however, a different impression emerges: 20 per cent of current degree holders work in occupations that do not require a college education. (A similar problem seems to exist in the Federal Republic of Germany [Tessaring, 1984]). Perhaps it is phenomenon endemic to countries which experience a "baby boom.") The proportion of these workers who are dissatisfied with their state of affairs is not known. No doubt some of them are content, but probably more of them feel deprived of the advantage they sought in the marketplace. What proportion of these apparent misplacements may be temporary is also not known. What is known is that the expectations that remain unfulfilled are likely to be perceived as broken promises and breed wide-spread discontent. The same questions which were raised regarding the restructuring of the work force in the computer industry can be raised again in this connection.

Obviously, an adequate response to the questions posed in the immediately preceding paragraphs will not be easy to find. Equally obviously, policy is not a sufficient response, but it is a necessary beginning point. The policy response would have to be persuasive

enough to stimulate broad co-ordination of the activities of many agencies. Probably, Unesco is in as good a position to initiate the needed leadership as any organization.

SUMMARY OF SUGGESTED POLICY STATEMENTS

To provide a quick point of reference to the suggestions made in the foregoing pages, they are identified briefly at this point. Page numbers indicate where the detailed suggestions and their underlying rationale can be located.

Suggestions to the professional community

Employability (pp. 3 - 5)

1. advocate the important consequences of general employability skills on both short- and long-term work adjustment
2. encourage trainers and programme operators to direct systematic attention to general employability
3. suggest that efforts to address general employability be spelled out uniformly and thoroughly throughout training programmes rather than taken for granted
4. encourage specification of which professionals are accountable for the transmission of each type of general employability skills -- affective work competencies, work context skills, and self-management

Transition as a Process (pp. 5 - 7)

1. encourage programme operators to conceptualize the transition from school to work as a long-term process requiring professional assistance at each step
2. advocate careful planning for transition from school to work, beginning in the early school grades and continuing until the worker is well established on the first job
3. stimulate and encourage formal investigation of the relationship between mastery of general employability skills and effective integration into working life
4. stimulate and encourage systematic investigation of the relationship between active student participation in transition planning and deriving benefit from it
5. facilitate both kinds of investigation in a variety of settings
6. formulate and advocate additional policy on the basis of data generated by the suggested investigations

Programme Operations

Diversity of Programmes (pp. 7 - 8)

1. encourage replication of the research on the relationship between participation in learning transition skills and student self- confidence about coping with them
2. stimulate research about which specific skills need to be mastered in local settings ion order to assure readiness for success in finding and keeping a job
3. encourage trainers of guidance personnel to assure that trainees are informed about the culture of clients they are likely to be called upon to work with
4. encourage trainers of guidance personnel to incorporate into their training programmes sufficient opportunities for traininees to understand, and if necessary modify, their attitudes toward clients they are likely to be called upon to work with
5. encourage trainers of guidance personnel to provide for the kind of learning which permits graduates of their programmes to pursue the objectives of items 3 and 4 independently as their workloads include clients from unfamiliar cultures
6. advocate that trainers recruit and programme operators hire guidance personnel who have grown up in cultures represented in target populations
7. advocate that the indigenous guidance personnel referred to in 6 be used as inservice educators regarding information about and attitudes toward the target populations

8. encourage the trainers of guidance personnel to incorporate into the training they offer opportunities for trainees to learn how to manage a wide variety of guidance services

Borrowing Guidance Practices (pp. 8 -10)

1. facilitate systematic investigation of the relative merits of guidance practices which are borrowed and those which are created locally.
2. encourage formal investigation of the relative merits (and costs) of guidance practices which are adopted unmodified, adapted to meet local conditions, or designed explicitly to meet local conditions
3. commission position papers which delineate the advantages and disadvantages of borrowing guidance practices from other cultures
4. on the basis of recommendations included in the postion papers, develop and distribute guidelines designed to help programme operators find the most efficient way to create new services without repeating the errors that others have made

Suggestions requiring a moderate degree of co-operation

Occupational Information (pp. 10 - 11)

1. develop and distribute guidelines designed to assist guidance programme operators and guidance personnel to disaggregate labor force data so they can convert existing information about occupations and employment opportunities into a form directly useful for guidance purposes.
2. encourage producers of information about labor force economics to undertake the additional analyses which would make their data directly applicable to vocational guidance

Interdisciplinary Co-operation (pp. 12 - 13)

1. encourage all appropriate professional associations to include in their professional meetings programmes which address issues related to successful integration of young people into working life
2. suggest that guidance workers be invited to such meetings even though they may not be members of the host associations
3. support the efforts of guidance personnel to attend the meetings of associations other than those to which they belong
4. encourage the organization of world and/or regional conferences, including representation from a broad range of academic disciplines, on matters of relevance to the integration of young people into working life
5. facilitate investigation of the relationship between attendance at such conferences and the improvement of guidance services
6. on the basis of such studies, advocate a paradigm for making world and/or regional conferences optimally effective
7. encourage the creation of regional clearinghouses as repositories for data, from all academic disciplines, about the integration of young people into working life

Suggestions requiring extensive collaboration

Frustrations of Guidance Personnel (pp. 13 - 14)

1. encourage investigation of the impact on job performance and the quality of guidance services of the frustrations that guidance personnel experience in their work
2. facilitate the establishment of communication networks designed to inform guidance personnel of the attention devoted to the sources of their frustrations

Demographic Projections (pp. 14 - 17)

1. encourage trainers of guidance personnel to include in the training they offer instruction in elementary demography

2. encourage the producers of demographic data to undertake the additional analyses which would make them directly applicable to vocational guidance

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